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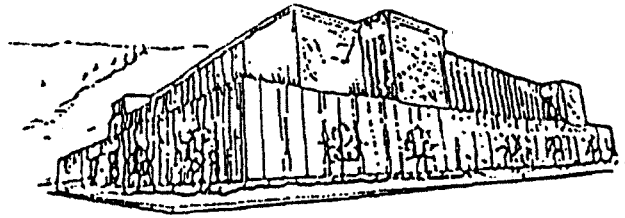
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MEASURING FEMINISM AND FEMINIST FRAMEWORKS:
AN EVALUATION OF EXTANT AND SUPPLEMENTARY MEASURES

By

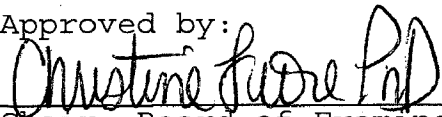
Leanne R. Parker

B.S., College of William and Mary, 1987

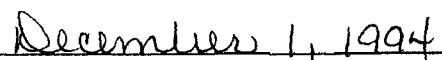
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for the degree of
Master of Arts
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Leanne R. Parker, M.A., May 1995

Psychology

Measuring Feminism and Feminist Frameworks:
An Evaluation of Extant and Supplementary Measures (104 pp.)

Director: Christine Fiore CF

Psychometric properties of four extant measures of women and their role in society were examined, as well as measures attempting to delineate liberal, Marxist, radical and socialist feminist frameworks. Survey data on the Feminism Scale, the Attitudes Toward Women Scale, the FEM Scale, the Attitudes Toward Feminism and the Women's Movement Scale, and the four feminist frameworks measures were gathered mostly from students in a college level introductory psychology class. The results provided evidence of construct and criterion-related validity for the four extant measures, and indicated that the delineation of radical, liberal and socialist feminist philosophies is promising. It seems possible that feminist philosophy may also be differentiated based on the extent of societal change advocated. The findings provide critical psychometric data on measures commonly used to examine beliefs and attitudes regarding women's overall relation to and position within society, as well as primary information on what feminists have long known - they are a diverse group of individuals that may often be inappropriately and simplistically subsumed under one term.

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Introduction

Feminism has a long, albeit obscure, history, with the beginning generally recognized as the publication of Mary Wollstonecraft's A Vindication of the Rights of Women in 1792 (Penn & Penn, 1976). While widely read and deliberated, it met with almost unanimous condemnation, and there was no formal association that could dedicate itself to the advancement of her propositions.

The social climate began to change in the 1800s, though, as women began organizing to advance worthy causes, leading to "increased expectations and a fuller appreciation of existing barriers" (Penn & Penn, 1976, p. 13). Indeed, strides in legal rights were already manifest by the 1820s. In the 1830s and 1840s, antislavery emerged as a unifying issue, as prominent male abolitionists were also advocates of women's rights. In 1848, the first women's rights convention was held in Seneca Falls, New York. After the Civil War, advocates were disheartened and outraged that the word "male" was added to the Fourteenth Amendment, designed to further "Negro" rights. After exclusion from the Fifteenth Amendment, women's rights supporters targeted suffrage with the highest priority.

There was dissension among these advocates, however, as more liberal feminists sought to expand the reform agenda into areas such as education, occupation, social concerns, and marriage and divorce. Conservative activists focused

solely on voting rights. In 1871, the House Judiciary Committee held a hearing on suffrage for women. Victoria Woodhull, aligned with the liberal faction, testified before this subcommittee. Later, she publicly espoused her free love philosophy and openly discussed love affairs of several individuals active in the movement. According to Penn and Penn (1976), these actions damaged the image of the more liberal camp and "precipitated the submersion of the more insightful aspects of American feminism" (p. 15). When suffrage was realized in 1920, the idealism of earlier times was lost, and the movement lay basically quiescent for 40 years.

The early 1960s proved a turning point for feminism. In 1961, President Kennedy created the President's Commission on the Status of Women. Its report, American Women, was released in 1963 and served as a catalyst and organizing force in the women's rights movement. Other pivotal events in 1963 included the passage of the Equal Pay Act and the publication of Betty Friedan's The Feminine Mystique. In 1964, Congress passed the Civil Rights Act, banning discrimination on the basis of sex. These actions laid the foundation for the rebirth of feminism as an agent of social change that continues today (Penn & Penn, 1976).

The history of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) is also thoroughly integrated within the history of feminism. Alice Paul drafted the original ERA (wording was slightly changed

in 1944), and it was first introduced into Congress in 1923. Its goal was to make any legal discrimination on the basis of sex unconstitutional. During the years the women's movement was virtually at a standstill, little public interest was expressed in the ERA, and it was kept alive only by the determination of the National Woman's Party. Even with the resurgence of attention to women's issues in the 1960s, the ERA did not make it to the floor of Congress until 1972. In March of that year, it was sent to the states for ratification.

By the end of 1973, 30 states had ratified the ERA, with only 5 additional states needed to assure its entry into the Constitution. At that time, however, conservative forces mounted a well-organized and well-financed opposition to its passage. These groups not only halted progress on ratification, but some states even tried to withdraw their initial support. Feminists who had become complacent about the ERA's passage, focusing on more grassroots social change, suddenly realized the important symbolic victory that was about to slip away. Energies became concentrated solely on winning ratification, at times to the exclusion of all other issues. Tuttle noted that "the ERA became the single, unifying issue for American feminists" (1986, p. 97). However, as supporters became more determined, the opposition responded in kind and the backlash grew stronger. In June of 1982, the extension period for ratification

expired, and that chance for the ERA died. The loss of this consolidating force and symbolic issue undoubtedly ushered in a time of re-evaluation and regrouping for feminists. Indeed, the 1980s seem to have been a time of fighting brushfires, struggling to preserve earlier gains that were threatened with the continued strength of conservative forces.

While "feminism" and "feminist" critiques have now permeated and augmented nearly every aspect of American culture, defining these terms has remained elusive. The term feminism comes from the Latin (femina, meaning women), and originally meant "having the qualities of females" (Tuttle, 1986). Its usage as a reference to the theory of sexual equality and women's rights began in the 1890s, replacing the term womanism. Webster's Collegiate Dictionary (1993) defines the term feminism as (1) the theory of the political, economic, and social equality of the sexes and (2) organized activity on behalf of women's rights and interests. This seems to be the most simple definition, however, and fails to capture more integral yet subtle aspects of the word.

The denotation within the Dictionary of Feminist Theory incorporates both a doctrine of equal rights for women, and a philosophy of social transformation which endeavors to create a world for women that extends beyond simple equality; feminism is the ideology of women's liberation

(Humm, 1990). The Encyclopedia of Feminism notes that the most general use of the word refers to anyone who is both aware of and seeking an end to women's oppression, in any way and for any reason. Feminism originates in the recognition that something is wrong with society's treatment of women. Further, it strives to analyze the reasons and dimensions of women's subordination, and to achieve liberation (Tuttle, 1986). Given the prevailing pejorative view of feminism, however, the term is surely laden with other, more negative connotations in this society (Faludi, 1991).

Indeed, the women's movement is often depicted as having disappeared or as no longer necessary, as women are seen as having either achieved equality with men or as having the mechanisms and laws in place to meet this end. However, as Penfold and Walker (1986) elucidated:

This view is belied by statistics which show that women are vulnerable to poverty as low-income wives, single parents, and senior citizens. The gap in wages between men and women is actually increasing, and with the current recession and move toward the political right, many hard-won gains in the areas of health care, child care, alternate social services, and affirmative action are being eroded or lost. Women's subordinate role, her second-class status, her primary responsibility for husband and family, . . . are woven tightly into the fabric of our society. (p. 10)

Thus, while advances in the principles outlined by feminists may seem to be real, many are more illusory. Further, women do not consistently seem to view themselves as feminists. A 1986 Gallup Poll found that 41% of upper-

income women claimed they were not feminists, compared to 26% of low-income women; a 1987 poll by the National Women's Conference Commission reported that 65% of black women called themselves feminists, while only 56% of white women did the same (Faludi, 1991).

As alluded to above, one distinction among feminists is the characteristic framework espoused by subgroups within the movement. A feminist framework can be defined as a "comprehensive analysis of the nature and causes of women's oppression and a correlated set of proposals for ending it" (Jaggar & Rothenberg, 1984, p. xii). These authors outline four discrete frameworks, specifically, liberal feminism, Marxist feminism, socialist feminism, and radical feminism.

Liberal feminism grew out of 17th and 18th century political theory and philosophy, and stresses equal rights and equal opportunity as the basis for equality of women. Liberal feminists differentiate sex, which is an invariant biological division between females and males, and gender, which is a set of social norms and expectations specifying appropriate behavior for women and men. Oppression is a consequence of these gendered norms, and activism is directed toward denouncing the injustice of these norms and modifying them. Moreover, these feminists believe "women's oppression results from legal constraints and social policies which discriminate against women and result in unequal civil rights and unequal educational and

occupational opportunities" (Avis, 1987, p. 24). Liberal feminists focus on eliminating economic and legal obstacles that block women's equality, and assert that the key to liberation "lies in the removal of sexist discrimination" (Avis, 1987, p. 24). Thus, these feminists differentiate between the personal and public spheres of women, and emphasize the removal of public barriers to women's equality.

Marxist feminism clearly draws on the philosophy outlined by Engels and Marx. This theory locates the genesis of women's oppression in the capitalist system of social organization. Indeed, among traditional Marxists, the introduction of private property is the seed of oppression. A class system ensued from the ownership of the means of production by a few persons, all male. Recognition of the class hierarchy, with its attendant conflict between classes, is the key to understanding contemporary society and the direction social change should take. Women's oppression is but a symptom, or secondary phenomenon, of a more fundamental oppression. Women are not dominated by men per se, but by capitalism. Women's oppression is functional to capitalism, as it provides such necessities as a pool of low-paid labor and a means of assuring socially indispensable work gets done at a low cost. With the destruction of capitalism, and subsequent establishment of socialism, the means of production would belong to society

as a whole, both women and men. Women's economic dependence would be eliminated, and as a result all remnants of archaic prejudice would lose plausibility and inevitably disappear. Thus, the end of capitalism is the ultimate goal, with women's equality "riding the coattails" of change (Jaggar & Rothenberg, 1984).

Radical feminism is a relatively new political distinction, dating from the late 1960s. It emerged in the United States as a response by women within the civil rights movement to the sexism they encountered daily from their male coworkers, as well as disillusionment with Marxist theory (popular at the time), which seemed to diminish the seriousness of women's concerns. Radical feminism views the oppression of women as the "fundamental oppression - i.e., that it has operated across time, across culture, across class - and that it is embedded in every aspect of life, including language, and is therefore the hardest form of oppression to eradicate" (Avis, 1987, p. 25). This distinctive feature emphasizes that women's oppression is primary to all other forms of domination. Radical feminists take exception to liberal feminist assertions about the distinctiveness of sex and gender. The two are viewed here as inextricably interwoven; not only have gender norms been shaped by biological sex differences, but gender norms have in turn influenced both social understandings of sex and the manner in which sex differences have evolved. The phrase

"the personal is political" is stressed, meaning that the events in women's private lives are a manifestation of oppression in the public domain. In particular, radical feminists view procreation and sexuality as profoundly political, organized by male power via control over conception, abortion and conditions of childrearing, as well as institutions such as prostitution and pornography. These feminists also focus on a psychological level, emphasizing that "women's discontent . . . is a response to a social structure in which women are systematically dominated, exploited, and oppressed" (Hartmann, 1984, p. 175). The social structure is patriarchy, the system by which men of all different classes, races, and cultures together exert domination over women (Hartmann, 1984).

Socialist feminism emerged in the late 1970s, in response to what some felt was the class-blindness of early radical feminism and the gender-blindness of Marxist feminism. The goal was to revise the theory of classical Marxism in a manner that would integrate radical feminist understandings, as well as design political interventions that would challenge male dominance and capitalism simultaneously. Early socialist feminist writers took great care to elucidate the necessity of socialist movements and feminist movements joining forces: "Socialists must attend to the needs of the female half of the working class, and feminists must recognize that genuine sex equality is

possible only under socialism. Together, the two movements generate the vision of a radically transformed society that is truly free and equal" (Jaggar & Rothenberg, 1993, p. 122). Socialist feminists draw on Marxist precepts to begin an explanation of women's oppression, namely that human nature is determined by the social context in which people live, and that equal opportunity is impossible in a class society. However, "Marxist theory must be expanded from an analysis of the means of production to include an analysis of how the means of *reproduction* . . . are organized and distributed in society" (Avis, 1987, p. 25). Change must come from the end of both patriarchy and capitalism, which are viewed as "mutually reinforcing systems" that permit men control over women's labor, both within and outside the home (Hartmann, 1984; Jaggar & Rothenberg, 1993).

Thus, the inconsistency with which women and society espouse feminist beliefs and principles, as well as the various feminist conceptualizations of oppression and its elimination, suggest the need for a means to measure accurately the extent to which individuals advocate the fundamental tenets of feminism, and for a distinction to be made among feminists as to their conceptual framework. An ability to measure these attitudes and convictions of individuals may also serve to clarify the extent to which they either maintain the status quo or seek to cultivate

more equitable social norms. A reliable and valid measure of feminism and inherent frameworks must be demonstrated, and it is to this end this research is devoted. Only then can researchers document the evolution of women's and men's attitudes toward basic societal change regarding women's status.

Several measures of feminism have been developed over the last 55 years, with the earliest published in 1936. Kirkpatrick (1936) proposed 80 items that subjects were to endorse if similar to their own "personal way of thinking and feeling" (p. 423). Items were derived mostly from official resolutions of feminist organizations at that time. Test-retest stability was reported at +.85, although only 59 students comprised the sample. Attempts at validation included classification by "competent" judges as to whether an item was feminist or nonfeminist; and the discriminating ability of the instrument to distinguish feminist groups such as the National Woman's Party and the National League of Women Voters from a convention of Lutheran pastors. It is noteworthy that Kirkpatrick did not explicitly define feminism in his research. It appears no further research was attempted with this instrument until 1972, when Dempewolff began revising and utilizing some of the items in the development of her own measure.

Dempewolff's instrument was the culmination of her doctoral dissertation in 1972, and was intended to be "a

valid and reliable measure of attitudes toward women embodied in the aims of the women's movement" (1974, p. 651). Subsequent to her revisions, the Feminism Scale has two forms, each with 28 items. Internal consistency was reported at $+ .96$. Validation was demonstrated by the scale's differentiation of individuals known to be identified with the women's movement. While Dempewolff attempted a more sophisticated measure than Kirkpatrick, and defined the construct of feminism at the outset, it appears the measures were not employed by others since that time.

The FEM Scale was published in 1975 by Smith, Ferree, and Miller. It consists of 20 items, some again derived from Kirkpatrick's 1936 scale while others were developed by the research team. While not defining feminism, these authors asserted that this measure "assessed acceptance of feminist beliefs rather than attitudes toward avowed feminists" (p. 51). Factor analysis guided scale development, culminating in 20 items measuring a single factor labeled feminism, which accounted for 37.7% of the variance. Reliability was reported to be $+ .91$. Validity was examined by correlating the measure with involvement in, and identification with, the women's movement; with Rotter's I-E Scale (Rotter, 1966); and with the Rubin-Peplau Just World Scale (Rubin & Peplau, 1973). Activism and identification had a positive and significant correlation, whereas perceptions of the world as a just place had a

negative and significant correlation. The I-E Scale and the FEM Scale had virtually no correlation. Again, while the design of the FEM Scale was more rigorous than previous measures, research with it virtually ceased at this point. One further investigation utilizing the FEM Scale was published, confirming reliability and construct validity (Singleton & Christiansen, 1977).

The Attitudes Toward Women Scale was developed in 1972. Spence and Helmreich (1978) stated that "this scale contains statements describing the rights, roles, and privileges women ought to have or be permitted . . . [with] high scores indicating a profeminist, egalitarian attitude" (p. 39). Cronbach alpha was reported to be +.89. Despite the fact that it is the most extensively employed feminism instrument, the authors cite limited evidence of construct validity (Spence & Helmreich, 1972; Spence & Helmreich, 1978).

More recently, the Attitudes Toward Feminism and the Women's Movement (FWM) Scale has been employed to measure "affective attitudes toward the feminist movement" (Fassinger, in press). Noting many problems in extant instruments, including a lack of definitional consistency, a "ceiling effect" that fails to distinguish the most clearly pro-feminist attitudes, excessive length, social desirability, and weak construct validity, Fassinger sought to remedy these issues with the FWM Scale. She reported

reliability to be $+ .89$, and provided evidence of convergent, construct, and discriminant validity. Convergent validity was examined utilizing correlations between the FWM Scale and the Attitudes Toward Women Scale, the FEM Scale, the Sex Role Egalitarianism Scale, and two single items measuring subjective identification with feminism and favorability toward the women's movement. Correlational data from these instruments were all positive and significant, ranging from $.677$ to $.789$. Discriminant validity was determined utilizing three subscales of the Personal Attributes Questionnaire (PAQ), the Rokeach Dogmatism Scale, and the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale. Correlations ranged from $-.232$ with the Rokeach Dogmatism Scale, to $+.347$ with the F subscale of the PAQ. Fassinger also noted the findings of other researchers (see Enns, 1987; Enns & Hackett, 1990; Hackett, Enns, & Zetzer, 1992) regarding the FWM Scale that contributed to the overall judgment of this instrument to be reliable, valid, and predictive of a feminist orientation. Fassinger concluded that while the FWM Scale appears to be empirically sound, additional psychometric assessments should be undertaken.

Thus, while various researchers have attempted to produce a reliable and valid measure of feminism, none seems to have thoroughly investigated psychometric issues, particularly construct and criterion-related validity.

Further, there has been no attempt to discriminate between different theoretical frameworks within feminism.

Clearly, the importance of this investigation is in the fundamental examination of critical psychometric issues, and as an initial exploration into scale construction regarding feminist frameworks. Future research may benefit from these analyses in several ways. Extant measures of feminism have rarely been examined concurrently. All were developed at different times over the last 20+ years, yet all claim to measure feminism or feminist attitudes. It is not assured at this time if these instruments all reflect a feminist philosophy in general, or merely exemplify beliefs characteristic of the time period in which they were developed. Indeed, even the extent of agreement between the various definitions of feminism discussed above is unknown. Evidence of construct validity will be provided if those endorsing a feminist philosophy also score in the feminist range on the four extant measures employed in this research.

Further, the ability to discriminate distinct convictions regarding both the origins of oppression and requisite changes to current realities provides several benefits. Feminists have long argued whether it is possible or even desirable to put all individuals who believe in the equality of women and men under one umbrella labelled feminist. Many contend that deep philosophical differences divide those with this core belief, and it is important to

make distinctions as to type of feminist. If this investigation lays the foundation for discriminating among liberal, Marxist, radical and socialist feminists, more credence may be given to the argument that feminists are too distinctive simply to mass together. Those who would believe that this contention is superfluous may need to rethink the position that feminists should only be grouped as a single entity. It may be that feminists share certain philosophical commonalities, yet differ politically on the basis of oppression and direction of subsequent change.

In addition, the ability to discriminate feminists more precisely provides future research opportunities into areas normally associated with the women's movement in general. For example, types of feminists may have disparate thoughts and perceptions on such issues as the parameters of abortion availability, the equal rights amendment, day care, and health care. Understanding differences within the movement may help individuals work together more realistically and effectively, rather than depending upon the assumption that everyone thinks and believes the same. This awareness may also facilitate the growing emphasis on "human rights" within the women's movement, stressing commonalities with other groups that are oppressed rather than singling out "women's" issues.

Thus, the primary purpose of this investigation is to examine fundamental psychometric issues of four extant

measures of feminism, to explore the extent of agreement between two disparate definitions of feminism, and to provide initial evidence of the ability to distinguish types of feminism. It is with these objectives that the following hypotheses are made. Relationships among all four extant measures will be strong, as they are purportedly measuring the same construct. Further, robust relationships should also be found between the definitions of feminism, and individuals who indicate a feminist philosophy and their respective scores on global measures of feminism. It is also expected that it will be possible to distinguish individuals based on the four distinct frameworks of liberal, Marxist, radical, and socialist feminism.

Method

Two hundred nineteen subjects were drawn from a college level introductory course in psychology at the University of Montana, as well as two women's studies classes. Both women and men were assessed. Screening was limited only by participants' agreement to complete all surveys provided.

Instruments employed included: the Attitudes Toward Women Scale (ATW), the FEM Scale, the Feminism Scale and the Attitudes Toward Feminism and the Women's Movement (FWM) Scale (see Appendixes B, C, D, and E). One hundred additional items were also presented, 25 each reflecting the tenets of liberal feminism, socialist feminism, Marxist feminism and radical feminism (see Appendixes F, G, H, and I). Items for the feminist frameworks scales flowed from the explication of the theories outlined above. Specifically, six sources were consulted (Avis, 1987; Chinchilla, 1980; Humm, 1990; Jaggar & Rothenberg, 1984, 1993; Tuttle, 1986). Assertions about fundamental principles from each of the theories were rewritten in the form of statements, with subjects responding to them in a Likert format of favorability.

All subjects completed the four scales and set of added items, which were given in four different orders without the name of the scale on the document. Both a male and a female graduate student administered the scales, in an attempt to minimize social desirability or the potential impact of only

one gender of experimenter conducting a survey about attitudes toward feminism. In groups of less than 50, subjects were directed to read the front page of the packet of surveys, which included instructions on how to answer the enclosed statements. This was followed by definitions of relevant terms (see Appendix A).

At the end of the surveys, one last page requested subjects to denote the extent of their agreement or disagreement with two unlabelled definitions of feminism. The first definition was taken from Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary (1993), and the second from the Encyclopedia of Feminism (Tuttle, 1986). Following these definitions, four brief delineations of political philosophy and the women's movement were provided. These were unlabelled descriptions of liberal, Marxist, radical and socialist feminism. Subjects were asked in a forced choice format to pick the one description that most closely fit their own philosophy about women and their position in society. Once subjects completed the entire group of surveys, they returned their answer sheets to a large box in the front of the room, and were provided an opportunity to read an explicit debriefing statement as to the nature of the experiment. That is, subjects were fully informed this study was designed to look at the relationship among various instruments purporting to measure feminism, and to classify feminists as to their theoretical framework.

The directions for answering the survey and definitions of relevant terms are located in Appendix A. The FEM Scale, the Attitudes Toward Women Scale, the Feminism Scale, and the Attitudes Toward Feminism and the Women's Movement Scale are located in Appendixes B, C, D, and E, respectively. In addition, the four scales delineating feminist frameworks can be found in Appendixes F, G, H, and I. The definitions of feminism and brief explications of liberal, Marxist, radical and socialist feminist philosophy are located in Appendix J.

Results

A total of 219 subjects began this survey. After discarding the data from two subjects due to incomplete answer sheets, responses from 217 subjects were used in the following analyses.

A total of 119 women (55%) and 98 men (45%) responded to this survey. The age of the participants ranged from 18 to 49 years, with the mean age 21.9 years. The modal age was 19 years, while the median was 20 years. Six completed surveys were obtained from volunteers in two women's studies classes; the remaining 211 surveys were completed by subjects in an introductory psychology class, who received experimental credit for their participation. See Table 1 for demographic information.

A correlation of $+ .661$ ($p < .000$) was obtained between scores on the Webster's definition of feminism and the Encyclopedia of Feminism definition. Thus, individuals who espoused a feminist philosophy according to Webster tended to adopt feminist principles according to the more stringent criteria outlined by feminists.

The first set of analyses involved the four extant measures. The correlations between subjects' level of agreement with the two definitions of feminism and their mean scores on each of the four extant measures were calculated. While all correlations were significant ($p < .000$), providing evidence of construct validity, there

Table 1

Subject Demographics

Gender	Frequency	Percentage
Females	119	54.8
Males	98	45.2
Age ^a		
18	26	12.0
19	72	33.2
20	37	17.1
21	21	9.7
22	10	4.6
23	11	5.1
24	7	3.2
25	1	.5
26	3	1.4
27	3	1.4
28	1	.5
29	2	.9
30	3	1.4
31	3	1.4
32	1	.5
34	2	.9
35	1	.5
36	4	1.8
37	1	.5
38	2	.9
43	1	.5
46	1	.5
47	2	.9
49	1	.5

^aOne piece of missing data.

tended to be a higher correspondence between scores on the Encyclopedia of Feminism definition and responses on the scales than there was between Webster's definition and responses on the scales. Values ranged from a low of $+.450$ with the Feminism Scale to $+.564$ with the FWM Scale. Webster's definition and scale correlations ranged from $+.400$ with FWM to $+.486$ with the FEM Scale (see Table 2).

Correlations were next calculated between subjects' mean scores on the four extant measures of feminism. As predicted, all four instruments correlated highly, providing evidence of criterion-related validity. Data ranged from a high of $+.781$ between scores on the FEM Scale and the Feminism Scale, to a low of $+.643$ between scores on the FWM Scale and the Feminism Scale (see Table 3).

The second set of analyses evaluated the initial employment of 100 items designed to distinguish liberal, Marxist, radical, and socialist feminists. A total of 25 items represented each type of feminist, thus there were four distinct measures. Coefficient alphas were calculated to examine the reliability of these four instruments. Both the socialist and radical surveys demonstrated adequate reliability, having alpha coefficients of $.853$ and $.854$, respectively (Nunnally, 1994). While the liberal and Marxist measures did not quite demonstrate adequate reliability, they nevertheless approached minimal

Table 2

Correlations Between Mean Scores on Definition of Feminism
and Extant Measures

Measure	Definition	
	Webster	Encyclopedia ^a
ATW Scale	.438*	.537*
FEM Scale	.486*	.564*
Feminism Scale	.465*	.450*
FWM Scale	.400*	.529*

^aFrom the Encyclopedia of Feminism (Tuttle, 1986).

* $p < .000$.

Table 3

Correlations Between Extant Measures of Feminism

	FEM	Feminism	FWM
ATW	.771*	.653*	.672*
FEM	--	.782*	.698*
Feminism	--	--	.643*

Note. ATW = Attitudes Toward Women Scale; FEM = FEM Scale; Feminism = Feminism Scale; FWM = Attitudes Toward Feminism and the Women's Movement Scale.

* $p < .000$.

reliability, having alpha coefficients of .755 and .777, respectively.

Subjects' selection of a representative philosophy and their group means on the four measures are presented in Table 4 and Figure 1. It is noteworthy that while 80 participants chose a liberal philosophy, and 69 participants chose a radical philosophy, only 28 selected a socialist philosophy, and Marxism was the representative choice of only 17 individuals. Gender distinctions as to type of philosophy chosen are presented in Table 5. Four one-way analyses of variance were calculated on subjects' choice of a feminist philosophy representative of their personal views, and their subsequent scores on the four instruments designed to differentiate this choice (see Tables 6, 7, 8, and 9). While only the subject group characterized by a radical feminist philosophy reached significance on their differentiation of scores ($p < .0000$), the liberal, Marxist and socialist subject groups nevertheless showed a trend in this direction.

Further analysis utilizing orthogonal contrasts confirmed that the subject groups who chose a liberal or a radical feminist philosophy indeed differed significantly from the other three groups on the specific measure designed to elicit this belief system. While the Marxist philosophy subject group showed a trend in this direction,

Table 4

Means and Standard Deviations of Measures of Feminist
Philosophy by Subjects Choice of Philosophy

Subject Group	<u>n</u>	Measures			
		Liberal	Marxist	Radical	Socialist
Liberal	80				
<u>M</u>		3.56	3.00	2.97	3.36
<u>SD</u>		.36	.39	.45	.46
Marxist	17				
<u>M</u>		3.41	2.92	2.68	3.14
<u>SD</u>		.49	.33	.43	.42
Radical	69				
<u>M</u>		3.51	3.12	3.23	3.46
<u>SD</u>		.37	.40	.51	.47
Socialist	28				
<u>M</u>		3.37	3.13	2.97	3.41
<u>SD</u>		.36	.34	.44	.40

Figure 1

Group Membership and Feminist Measure Mean Score

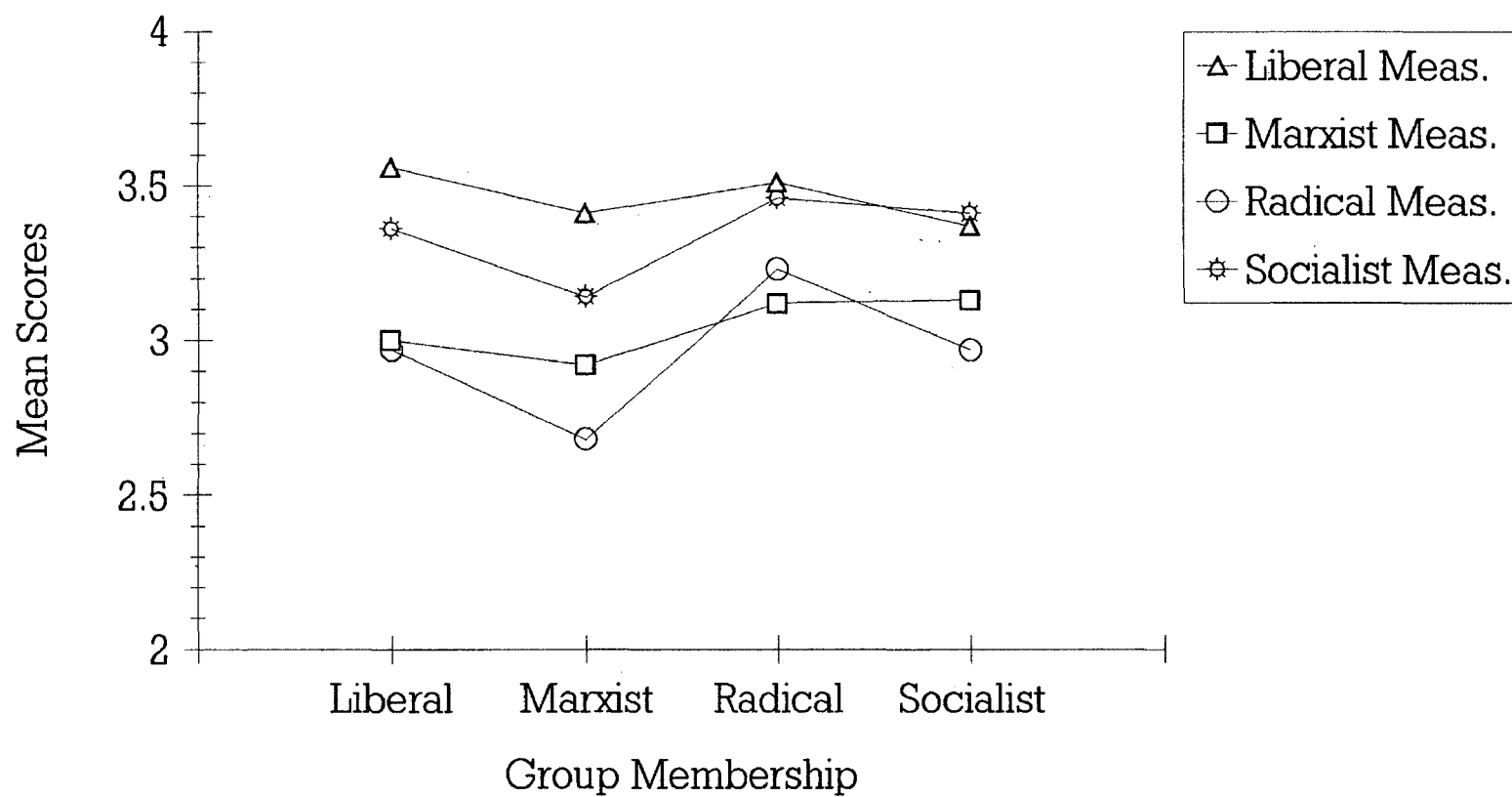


Table 5

Gender Distinctions as Related to Choice of Feminist
Philosophy

Group ^a	Females	Male
Liberal	43	37
Marxist	6	11
Radical	41	28
Socialist	16	12

^aData missing for 23 subjects.

Table 6

Analysis of Variance of the Liberal Measure as a Function of
Liberal Choice of Philosophy

Source	<u>df</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>p</u>
Between	3	.2875	2.04	.101
Within	190	.1407		
Total	193			

Table 7

Analysis of Variance of the Marxist Measure as a Function of
Marxist Choice of Philosophy

Source	<u>df</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>p</u>
Between	3	.3145	2.16	.094
Within	190	.1454		
Total	193			

Table 8

Analysis of Variance of the Radical Measure as a Function of
Radical Choice of Philosophy

Source	<u>df</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>p</u>
Between	3	1.7875	8.11	.0000
Within	190	.2203		
Total	193			

Table 9

Analysis of Variance of the Socialist Measure as a Function
of Socialist Choice of Philosophy

Source	<u>df</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>p</u>
Between	3	.4929	2.41	.068
Within	190	.2043		
Total	193			

the socialist philosophy subject group clearly did not differ significantly from the other three groups on the instrument attempting to elicit this belief system (see Table 10).

Due to the unequal size of each group noted above more meaningful data were calculated using harmonic means and the student Newman-Keuls procedure. Subjects who chose radical philosophy differed significantly from both the liberal and Marxist groups on the measure designed to elicit a radical philosophy. On this radical measure, the Marxist group also differed significantly from both the liberal and socialist subject groups. On the socialist measure, only the Marxist group and radical group differed significantly from each other. Finally, no two groups were significantly distinct on the liberal or Marxist measure. See Table 11 for a reiteration of group means on the feminist framework measures and the significant differences between groups utilizing harmonic means and the student Newman-Keuls procedure.

A confirmatory factor analysis of the four measures developed to delineate four distinct feminist philosophies was conducted. After examination of the factor matrix, it was determined that only three factors were represented by the four measures, which together accounted for 25.8% of the total variance. Eleven items from the liberal measure

Table 10

Orthogonal Contrasts of Subject Philosophy and Counterpart
Measure of Feminist Philosophy

Subject Choice	<u>T</u> value ^a	<u>T</u> probability
Liberal	-2.132	.034
Marxist	1.679	.095
Radical	-4.754	.000
Socialist	-0.872	.385

^adf = 190 for each group.

Table 11

Group Membership and Mean Score on Feminist Framework
Measures

Group	Measures			
	Liberal	Marxist	Radical	Socialist
Liberal	3.56	3.00	2.97	3.36
Marxist	3.41	2.92	2.68 ^a	3.14
Radical	3.51	3.12	3.23 ^b	3.46 ^c
Socialist	3.37	3.13	2.97	3.41

^aMarxist group significantly different from Liberal, Radical and Socialist groups.

^bRadical group significantly different from Liberal and Marxist groups.

^cRadical group significantly different from Marxist group.

$p < .05$.

loaded between .40 and .60 on the first factor, which accounted for 16.1% of the total variance. Thus, this first factor seemed to represent and was subsequently entitled Liberal Philosophy. See Table 12 for the 10 highest factor loadings of the liberal framework measure.

Factor two was heavily represented by items from the radical measure. Factor loadings for thirteen of the items ranged from .41 to .66, and accounted for 6.0% of the total variance. This second factor thus seemed to represent and was subsequently labelled Radical Philosophy. See Table 13 for the 10 highest factor loadings of the radical framework measure.

Factor three showed moderate loadings with many items from the socialist measure. While these loadings were not as high as those seen on factors one and two, they were nevertheless fairly consistent, ranging mostly from .20 to .45, and accounting for 3.6% of the total variance. Thus this third factor seemed to represent and was entitled Socialist Philosophy. See Table 14 for the 10 highest factor loadings of the socialist framework measure.

The Marxist measure was not well represented by any one factor. The highest factor loadings for these items were scattered among the three factors discussed thus far. Consequently, factor four did not seem to represent a distinct line of philosophy in this research, accounting for

Table 12

Confirmatory Factor Analysis Loadings for Ten Highest
Liberal Feminist Framework Items

Items	Factors		
	1	2	3
15. In order to end discrimination against women, attention should be focused on removing obstacles to women's equal participation in community and public areas of life.	.602	.036	.061
14. The key to women's liberation lies in the removal of sexism and discrimination.	.572	.206	.008
13. Oppression of women is the result of unequal civil rights and unequal educational and occupational opportunities.	.571	.269	.019
8. In a capitalistic society such as ours, it is logical for women to enter the work force so that we have the best pool of goal-oriented, intelligent and talented individuals.	.547	-.212	-.069
16. Personal fulfillment is most likely achieved when a person is free from very defined sex roles and stereotypes.	.531	.000	.165

Table 12 (continued)

Items	Factors		
	1	2	3
23. While clear separation between public and private areas of life is important, one must be careful where to draw the line, so that private issues such as domestic violence are subject to public laws.	.531	-.065	.085
3. Women are discriminated against mainly because they are judged as women first and human beings second.	.517	.255	.163
12. Oppression is the result of legal and social restrictions which discriminate against women.	.449	.257	.119
20. The end of discrimination should and will occur with legal changes and the education of people in society.	.418	.201	-.076
25. Women's subordination is a consequence of gender and social norms rather than biological sex.	.405	-.014	.328

Table 13

Confirmatory Factor Analysis Loadings for Ten Highest
Radical Feminist Framework Items

Items	Factors		
	1	2	3
6. Women's oppression is the root of all other forms of oppression.	-.097	.661	-.014
12. Heterosexual marriage oppresses women, as it is located in the environment of a society that is male-dominated.	.004	.644	-.007
13. The foundations for male dominance lie in men's control of women's sexuality.	.206	.597	-.002
22. Women's oppression is rooted in social practices through which men control women's bodies, for example, laws regarding abortion, prostitution, and pornography.	.412	.562	-.007
11. Women's subordination when it comes to work is only a symptom of deeper problems, which have their foundations in men's control of women's sexual and reproductive abilities.	.262	.539	.130
5. All forms of oppression are related to, and extensions of, male dominance.	.137	.526	.013
10. Women's oppression is the deepest, and therefore the hardest to put an end to.	.235	.524	.043

Table 13 (continued)

Items	Factors		
	1	2	3
15. Changes in the current society would only achieve "surface equality," therefore, an entirely new social system is needed.	.139	.484	.129
3. Gender differences shape every aspect of women's lives.	.225	.463	.032
17. Men benefit from women's oppression, therefore, a certain amount of separation between women and men is needed, at least for now.	-.180	.449	.159

Table 14

Confirmatory Factor Analysis Loadings for Ten Highest
Socialist Feminist Framework Items

Items	Factors		
	1	2	3
19. Strategies for political action that challenge both male dominance and capitalism are desirable.	.293	.263	.451
21. A full understanding of women's subordination must be analyzed and understood in terms of satisfying: physiological needs (for example food and clothing), sexuality, children, and emotional support.	.340	.019	.442
20. A society that is truly free and equal would have to address both the problems of the female half of the working class, and the more general problems of a capitalist economy.	.344	.187	.422
7. Women's sexual liberation can only occur when their sexuality is no longer pushed by money, profit and maintaining male supremacy.	.421	.213	.421
6. Women's subordination in society is inseparable from their inferior position in private areas (the family). True liberation requires basic changes within the family.	.320	.113	.420
5. It is more appropriate to discuss equal pay for similar work, rather than equal pay for equal work.	-.128	.027	.403

Table 14 (continued)

Items	Factors		
	1	2	3
18. Women who are restricted to the lowest paying and least secure jobs can gain economic independence only in an economy that has been fully changed.	.122	.242	.402
3. There is no basic oppression of women, rather, every issue belongs to women. It is not possible nor desirable to separate "woman questions" from political questions.	-.206	-.080	.393
23. It is desirable to struggle for equality within a new system that is not dependent on male domination or any exploitation of one group by another.	.483	.019	.364
1. In order to eliminate the oppression of women, differences in both class and gender should be removed.	.285	.151	.337

only 2.9% of the total variance. See Table 15 for the 10 highest factor loadings of the Marxist framework measure.

While communalities of several items were extremely low, thus presenting the possibility of a unique factor based on this communality, all three factors were very well represented by 11 or more group variables. Thus, singleton factors were not observed.

An exploratory factor analysis was calculated, examining the relationship between the four extant measures of feminism and the four instruments developed to delineate feminist frameworks. After comparing eigenvalues, variance accounted for, and communalities of all items, it was determined that three factors best represented these variables.

Factor one included all four extant measures. The Attitudes Toward Women Scale, the FEM Scale, the Feminism Scale and the Attitudes Toward Feminism and the Women's Movement Scale all loaded consistently on this factor, with only 4 out of 73 variables loading less than .30. These scales seem to address beliefs and attitudes regarding women's overall relation to and position within society, thus, this factor was labelled General Perspectives About Women in Society, and accounted for 18.6% of the total variance. See Tables 16, 17, 18, and 19 for factor loadings of these four measures.

Table 15

Confirmatory Factor Analysis Loadings for Ten Highest
Marxist Feminist Framework Items

Items	Factors		
	1	2	3
12. Theories about women and economic class also need to be applied to the family in order to fully understand women's oppression.	.616	.211	.121
13. There are important connections between capitalism and patriarchy that link both to the oppression of women.	.398	.544	.139
19. In a capitalist society, women are financially dependent on men, and therefore subordinate.	-.061	.544	.328
23. Women's subordination helps maintain a capitalist society, for example, by providing a pool of low-paid labor.	.118	.345	.512
21. Women's economic dependence on men cannot be eliminated in a capitalist society.	-.314	.493	.227
18. "Equal opportunity" is a myth within a class society.	.110	.236	.481
4. Dominance does not have to be a basic feature of the economic foundation of society.	.468	.163	.015

Table 15 (continued)

Items	Factors		
	1	2	3
8. The women's movement has struggles of class within it, as the reality of different economic classes in our society translates into other areas.	.456	.136	.280
20. In a capitalist society, most women will never be the economic and social equals of men.	-.159	.452	.370
6. Legal equality will not liberate women, but will provide a first step in showing the differences in power and wealth that exist in a capitalistic society such as ours.	.280	-.050	.430

Table 16

Exploratory Factor Analysis Loadings for the FEM Scale

Items	Factors		
	1	2	3
1. Women have the right to compete with men in every sphere of activity.	.517	.080	.213
2. As head of the household, the father should have final authority over his children.	.565	.136	.313
3. The unmarried mother is morally a greater failure than the unmarried father.	.598	-.009	.215
4. A woman who refuses to give up her job to move with her husband would be to blame if the marriage broke up.	.558	.108	.179
5. A woman who refuses to bear children has failed in her duty to her husband.	.587	.120	.293
6. Women should not be permitted to hold political offices that involve great responsibility.	.631	-.087	.219
7. A woman should be expected to change her name when she marries.	.646	.246	.052
8. Whether or not they realize it, most women are exploited by men.	.155	.368	.162
9. Women who join the Women's Movement are typically frustrated and unattractive people who feel they lose out by the current rules of society.	.626	.190	.120

Table 16 (continued)

Items	Factors		
	1	2	3
10. A working woman who sends her six month old baby to a daycare center is a bad mother.	.574	.111	-.127
11. A woman to be truly womanly should gracefully accept chivalrous attentions from men.	.442	.194	-.144
12. It is absurd to regard obedience as a wifely virtue.	.358	.144	.218
13. The "clinging vine" wife is justified provided she clings sweetly enough to please her husband.	.485	.275	.086
14. Realistically speaking, most progress so far has been made by men and we can expect it to continue that way.	.534	-.058	.167
15. One should never trust a woman's account of another woman.	.551	.006	-.206
16. It is desirable that women be appointed to police forces with the same duties as men.	.554	.131	.150
17. Women are basically more unpredictable than men.	.481	.110	-.021
18. It is all right for women to work but men will always be the basic breadwinners.	.705	.031	.297
19. A woman should not expect to go to the same places or have the same freedom of action as a man.	.525	.067	.146

Table 16 (continued)

Items	Factors		
	1	2	3
20. Profanity sounds worse generally coming from a woman.	.640	.026	-.228

Table 17

Exploratory Factor Analysis Loadings for the Attitudes
Toward Women Scale

Items	Factors		
	1	2	3
1. Swearing and obscenity are more repulsive in the speech of a woman than a man.	.561	.108	-.224
2. Under modern economic conditions with women being active outside the home, men should share in household tasks such as washing dishes and doing the laundry.	.493	.073	.120
3. It is insulting to women to have the "obey" clause remain in the marriage service.	.411	.196	.117
4. A woman should be as free as a man to propose marriage.	.438	.114	.081
5. Women should worry less about their rights and more about becoming good wives and mothers.	.624	.177	.139
6. Women should assume their rightful place in business and all the professions along with men.	.430	.065	-.079
7. A woman should not expect to go to exactly the same places or to have quite the same freedom of action as a man.	.555	.114	.291
8. It is ridiculous for a woman to run a locomotive and for a man to darn socks.	.604	.080	.094

Table 17 (continued)

Items	Factors		
	1	2	3
9. The intellectual leadership of a community should be largely in the hands of men.	.598	-.016	.131
10. Women should be given equal opportunity with men for apprenticeship in the various trades.	.476	-.006	.136
11. Women earning as much as their dates should bear equally the expense when they go out together.	.331	.048	-.084
12. Sons in a family should be given more encouragement to go to college than daughters.	.367	.064	.262
13. In general, the father should have greater authority than the mother in the bringing up of children.	.581	.129	.126
14. Economic and social freedom is worth far more to women than acceptance of the ideal of femininity which has been set up by men.	.328	.301	.075
15. There are many jobs in which men should be given preference over women in being hired or promoted.	.648	.191	.144

Table 18

Exploratory Factor Analysis Loadings for the Feminism Scale

Items	Factors		
	1	2	3
1. Women should feel free to compete with men in every sphere of economic activity.	.428	.058	.195
2. Management of property and income, acquired by either husband or wife, should rest with both husband and wife.	.192	-.098	.065
3. It is better to have a man as a boss or supervisor than a woman.	.660	.039	.096
4. A woman could be just as competent as a man in a high political office.	.559	-.031	.074
5. A woman should take her husband's last name at marriage.	.557	.422	-.054
6. If a woman with an infant continues to work outside the home, she is neglecting her maternal duty.	.561	.125	-.077
7. Sex is no indication of fitness or lack of fitness to enter any type of occupation.	.422	.164	.091
8. Women should not compete in football or baseball, even against other women.	.567	-.016	.170
9. The intellectual leadership of a community should mostly be in the hands of men.	.714	.073	.220

Table 18 (continued)

Items	Factors		
	1	2	3
10. Both husband and wife should be equally responsible for the care of the young children.	.408	.158	-.070
11. Society should be prepared to provide day care centers so any woman who wants to hold a job can do so.	.374	.212	-.009
12. It is only fair for a school which offers professional training to limit the number of female students in favor of males.	.671	-.065	.219
13. Men should usually help a woman with her coat and open the door for her.	.524	.143	-.065
14. Men should have an equal chance for custody of children in a divorce.	.065	-.092	.065
15. Women workers have abilities equal to those of men workers for most jobs.	.263	-.063	.112
16. Objections which one might have to the use of obscene language should bear no relation to the sex of the speaker.	.533	-.147	.063
17. Women would be happier in the long run if they could adjust to their role as housewives.	.669	.077	.098
18. Women can control their emotions enough to be successful in any occupation.	.562	-.030	.114

Table 18 (continued)

Items	Factors		
	1	2	3
19. It should usually be the duty of the husband to support his wife and family.	.645	.081	.151
20. Police duty is a job that should usually be done by men.	.665	.172	.039
21. The husband should usually initiate sexual relations with his wife.	.556	.053	.123
22. A woman should have the same freedom and the same restrictions as a man.	.456	-.019	.159
23. Women should feel free to enter occupations requiring aggressiveness rather than remaining in jobs calling for compliance.	.644	-.108	.127
24. Women should accept the intellectual limitations of their sex.	.459	.001	.297
25. A woman should almost always let her date pay for whatever they do together.	.451	-.022	.000
26. For her own safety, parents should keep a daughter under closer supervision than a son.	.467	.028	.116
27. It is natural if a woman's career is as important to her as her husband and children.	.420	.257	.180
28. Women should ask men out for dates if they feel like it.	.424	.035	.280

Table 19

Exploratory Factor Analysis Loadings for the Attitudes
Toward Feminism and the Women's Movement Scale

Items	Factors		
	1	2	3
1. The leaders of the women's movement may be extreme, but they have the right idea.	.289	.267	.193
2. There are better ways for women to fight for equality than through the women's movement.	.359	.298	-.073
3. Feminists are too visionary for a practical world.	.526	.163	.071
4. More people would favor the women's movement if they knew more about it.	.439	.293	.133
5. The women's movement has positively influenced relationships between men and women.	.390	.234	.065
6. The women's movement is too radical and extreme in its views.	.502	.371	.045
7. Feminist principles should be adopted everywhere.	.399	.401	.173
8. I am overjoyed that women's liberation is finally happening in this country.	.546	.340	.225
9. The women's movement has made important gains in equal rights and political power for women.	.460	.161	.175

Table 19 (continued)

Items	Factors		
	1	2	3
10. Feminists are a menace to this nation and the world.	.657	.123	.237

Factors two and three encompassed variables in the four measures of feminist frameworks. Factor three was delineated by consistent loadings on the liberal measure in the .40 to .50 range, while factor two was represented by variables from the Marxist, radical and socialist measures, many variables ranging from .40 to .63. Factor two accounted for 5.4% of the total variance, while factor three accounted for 2.9%. See Tables 20, 21, 22, and 23 for the 10 highest factor loadings from the explanatory analysis of the four frameworks measures.

As discussed previously, these measures attempt to specify a person's beliefs about the origin of women's oppression, and thus a subsequent course and goal for change. Those with liberal viewpoints advocate change within the current economic and social system, while individuals with Marxist, radical and socialist beliefs support massive, fundamental transformation that rebuilds many longstanding economic, political and social institutions. This differentiation in route and objective led to the labelling of factor three as Incremental Change, and factor two as Fundamental Change.

Again, there were several items with extremely low communalities. The preponderance of items within each factor, however, leaves little doubt as to there being no unique factors based solely on these data.

Table 20

Exploratory Factor Analysis Loadings for the Ten Highest
Liberal Feminist Framework Items

Items	Factors		
	1	2	3
8. In a capitalistic society such as ours, it is logical for women to enter the work force so that we have the best pool of goal-oriented, intelligent and talented individuals.	.356	-.166	.533
15. In order to end discrimination against women, attention should be focused on removing obstacles to women's equal participation in community and public areas of life.	.314	.148	.510
3. Women are discriminated against mainly because they are judged as women first and human beings second.	.204	.355	.508
11. The most important part in ending discrimination against women is equality of opportunity.	.107	.017	.498
14. The key to women's liberation lies in the removal of sexism and discrimination.	.283	.291	.497
18. It is more important to improve the status of women within the systems of our society (for example, within educational and occupational systems) than it is to try and change the systems.	-.137	-.231	.456

Table 20 (continued)

Items	Factors		
	1	2	3
23. While clear separation between public and private areas of life is important, one must be careful where to draw the line, so that private issues such as domestic violence are subject to public laws.	.229	.105	.406
25. Women's subordination is a consequence of gender and social norms rather than biological sex.	.274	.230	.403
16. Personal fulfillment is most likely achieved when a person is free from very defined sex roles and stereotypes.	.334	.150	.390
22. There should be a clear separation between public and private areas of life. Thus, women should have the right to choose on such issues as abortion, pornography, and prostitution, because they involve private areas of life.	.193	.193	.358

Table 21

Exploratory Factor Analysis Loadings for the Ten Highest
Marxist Feminist Framework Items

Items	Factors		
	1	2	3
19. In a capitalist society, women are financially dependent on men, and therefore subordinate.	-.098	.579	-.114
13. There are important connections between capitalism and patriarchy that link both to the oppression of women.	.365	.579	.090
23. Women's subordination helps maintain a capitalist society, for example, by providing a pool of low-paid labor.	.120	.500	.059
20. In a capitalist society, most women will never be the economic and social equals of men.	-.056	.465	-.205
17. Not taking into account class differences in a society delays the progress that women can make.	.085	.449	.114
21. Women's economic dependence on men cannot be eliminated in a capitalist society.	-.269	.447	-.292
18. "Equal opportunity" is a myth within a class society.	.157	.441	-.025
16. Women cannot be truly equal to men in a society where class exists.	-.110	.397	-.117

Table 21 (continued)

Items	Factors		
	1	2	3
14. Class differences are not important in understanding the oppression of women.	.251	.377	.037
12. Theories about women and economic class also need to be applied to the family in order to fully understand women's oppression.	.321	.362	.399

Table 22

Exploratory Factor Analysis Loadings for the Ten Highest
Radical Feminist Framework Items

Items	Factors		
	1	2	3
22. Women's oppression is rooted in social practices through which men control women's bodies, for example, laws regarding abortion, prostitution, and pornography.	.234	.539	.246
11. Women's subordination when it comes to work is only a symptom of deeper problems, which have their foundations in men's control of women's sexual and reproductive abilities.	.169	.530	.151
10. Women's oppression is the deepest, and therefore the hardest to put an end to.	.105	.522	.142
6. Women's oppression is the root of all other forms of oppression.	-.127	.516	-.152
12. Heterosexual marriage oppresses women, as it is located in the environment of a society that is male-dominated.	-.082	.514	-.018
13. The foundations for male dominance lie in men's control of women's sexuality.	.114	.509	.040
23. Issues such as reproduction and sexuality are not only personal, but also political, as they are organized and controlled by male power.	.252	.506	.273

Table 22 (continued)

Items	Factors		
	1	2	3
15. Changes in the current society would only achieve "surface equality," therefore, an entirely new social system is needed.	.046	.481	.024
8. The personal is political, that is, what happens in women's personal lives is evidence of their oppression in society.	.336	.476	.123
5. All forms of oppression are related to, and extensions of, male dominance.	.105	.452	.094

Table 23

Exploratory Factor Analysis Loadings for the Ten Highest
Socialist Feminist Framework Items

Items	Factors		
	1	2	3
12. The current arrangement of sexuality, marriage and the family are basic to women's oppression.	.141	.605	.190
10. Patriarchy and capitalism are inter-related and mutually reinforcing systems, which both contribute to the oppression of women.	.243	.634	.019
2. There is a need for a women's liberation movement that is independent and composed of women only.	.002	.518	-.033
19. Strategies for political action that challenge both male dominance and capitalism are desirable.	.302	.468	.162
24. Women must strive to build not only a strong women's movement, but must also work alongside other oppressed groups.	.285	.427	.261
18. Women who are restricted to the lowest paying and least secure jobs can gain economic independence only in an economy that has been fully changed.	.090	.426	-.024
8. Women of all classes have more in common, with stronger unity and power, than women and men in the same class.	.111	.419	.056

Table 23 (continued)

Items	Factors		
	1	2	3
7. Women's sexual liberation can only occur when their sexuality is no longer pushed by money, profit and maintaining male supremacy.	.321	.386	.210
20. A society that is truly free and equal would have to address both the problems of the female half of the working class, and the more general problems of a capitalist economy.	.263	.385	.216
1. In order to eliminate the oppression of women, differences in both class and gender should be removed.	.137	.294	.302

Discussion

This exploration into extant measures of feminist attitudes and perspectives on the women's movement provides the opportunity to draw some limited conclusions. The four instruments in existence, while developed in various time periods and consequently in different social milieus, nevertheless appear to be strongly related. Fassinger (in press), utilizing the Attitudes Toward Women Scale and the FEM Scale to study the psychometric properties of the Attitudes Toward Feminism and the Women's Movement Scale, also found strong relationships. This study expanded upon her examination, utilizing a larger subject pool, an additional related measure (the Feminism Scale), and a factor analysis of these instruments. While some relationships in this exploration were slightly lower than those found by Fassinger, they were nevertheless robust and highly significant, and loaded heavily on one single factor. Thus, certain feminist principles seem to cut across time and social environment.

It is interesting to note that the FEM Scale and the Feminism Scale had the strongest relationship. This could be a function of their development within 2 years of each other, and thus a similar point in the evolvement of feminist thought and the coexisting social climate. This may also partially explain the lowest relationship found, between that of the FWM Scale (developed in the late 1980s)

and the Feminism Scale (developed in the early 1970s and the oldest measure employed). Nevertheless, the four extant measures seem to be measuring the same entity, as demonstrated by factor analysis, even though past researchers have not been rigorous in defining this entity.

This study attempted to remedy this lack of terminological specificity, providing two definitions of feminism upon which subjects were able to rate the strength of their convictions. Again, relationships were robust and highly significant. Subjects' agreement with the less stringent Webster's definition of feminism corresponded to a high degree with their agreement to the more rigorous definition derived from the Encyclopedia of Feminism. This relationship was seen despite the fact that the encyclopedia's definition included an activist component, an overt indictment of society's treatment of women, and a call to analyze the reasons for and dimensions of women's oppression, in addition to a more general belief statement in the equality of men and women. Webster's definition included only a simple belief statement in the equality of men and women. Thus, subjects who exhibited a more general belief in the equality of men and women (and thus could be called feminists based on Webster's definition) also tended to espouse more concrete and activist ideas that feminists themselves delineate as important to identifying oneself as a feminist.

Evidence of construct validity of the four extant measures was provided by the robust and highly significant relationships found with both definitions of feminism. It is interesting to note that the strongest relationships tended to be found with the more stringent definition, the only exception being the Feminism Scale. While researchers developing these instruments often did not define their use of the term feminism explicitly, they nevertheless seemed to draw on the components of feminism that feminists themselves use in defining the term. It may again be noted that the exception to this observation, the Feminism Scale, was also the oldest instrument utilized in this study. Perhaps in the early 1970s activists were more deeply involved in the process of trying to identify exactly what constituted feminism.

An initial exploration into delineating four feminist frameworks on the origins and subsequent steps to end women's oppression showed promising results. Both radical and socialist measures demonstrated adequate reliability, although more careful exploration may both increase reliability and streamline the measures. Liberal and Marxist frameworks must be researched and evaluated further in order to show adequate reliability, yet their reliability coefficients were nevertheless encouraging.

Factor analysis also supported the supposition that distinct frameworks within feminism can be delineated, as

none of the newly employed measures loaded on the one common factor observed in the extant instruments. While the Marxist measure left more questions than answers in the confirmatory factor analysis, it seems clear that liberal, radical and socialist frameworks may be differentiated.

It may be possible for radical feminist frameworks, in particular, to be identified. Those who selected a radical feminist philosophy as most representative of their views showed significant differences in their scores on the radical measure. Even after harmonic mean transformation, radical feminists differed significantly on the radical measure from both the liberal feminist and Marxist feminist groups. Radical feminists also differed significantly from the Marxist group on the socialist measure. As radical feminism is often considered the most "extreme" type of feminism, maybe it is not surprising that those who espouse this philosophy are more clear as to the transformations that must occur before oppression will end, and more willing to favor revolutionary change.

Liberal, Marxist and socialist feminism may be more difficult to capture. Liberal feminists often espouse principles that seem a "given" in today's society; Jaggar and Rothenberg (1993) noted that "the idea that women and men should enjoy equal opportunities has now become so generally accepted in North America that it is rarely disputed in public" (p. 118). Thus, attempting to find

tenets specific to this group will be extremely challenging. Further, there is some dispute as to whether Marxist and socialist feminist philosophy constitute one feminist framework or two. Jaggar and Rothenberg (1993) are clear on the distinction, while Avis (1987) discusses only socialist feminism that draws on Marxist principles. Indeed, the factor analysis discussed previously did not validate the concept that socialists and Marxists were distinct subgroups. Developing and validating measures on these "two" groups may require more exploration into their differences, as well as pilot work with individuals who are well versed and possibly less reactionary to the ideas of Marxism and socialism than a young college student population.

There are additional intriguing possibilities concerning the radical and socialist groups. As noted previously, both these types of feminists advocate extensive, basic economic and sociopolitical change. In this study, their scores did not differ significantly on any of the four measures, and in the exploratory factor analysis both groups of variables loaded heavily on the same factor. Perhaps these groups have a large core of similarities that should be emphasized, rather than their differences, although they are clearly delineated in any discussion of feminist frameworks. It may be that these two groups would work together more effectively for change than another

combination that included liberal feminists. The composition of women and men who work in various feminist organizations has never been examined. It would be interesting to evaluate the effectiveness of these various subgroups in their combined efforts for change.

The exploratory factor analysis also raised other interesting issues and prospects for future research. Besides the common factor observed for the more general measures of feminism (which do not address change), it was noted that the frameworks measures loaded onto two factors that could be distinguished by the extensiveness of change advocated. Thus, while the extant measures ask for general beliefs, the frameworks measures developed in this study take this notion one step further and call for how one would implement change. This requires more thought and analysis than simply reporting beliefs. Scoring as a feminist on an extant measure may not translate to a discernible feminist framework, thus indicating perhaps that while a person believes in equality, they do not necessarily behave in a manner that works for this equality. It may be that if an individual translates beliefs into action in their personal life, that person may also have a clearer understanding of the actions believed to be necessary to make change happen. In short, perhaps scores on the feminist frameworks measures are indicative of the extent to which one lives what one believes.

If indeed the frameworks measures reflect actual behavior, a research project built on this premise could be envisioned as follows. Therapists could be given one of the extant instruments to measure their overall belief in women's equality. These clinicians could then be presented with vignettes depicting a case presentation, and asked to write a brief conceptualization of that case with tentative treatment recommendations. One or several feminist framework measures could then be employed. Both scoring of the case conceptualizations and scores on measures of feminist frameworks may indicate the extent to which a particular therapist translates their belief system regarding women into their practice. That is, do clinicians who score as if they believe in the equality of women actually conceptualize and personify this philosophy in their practice? A dissertation project following these general parameters is anticipated.

Several limitations to this study must be noted. The sample consisted almost exclusively of college students in an introductory psychology class, thus the generalizability of results is unclear. While an attempt was made to elicit responses from those taking women's studies courses, the response rate was low. Out of approximately 25 surveys given out, only 6 were returned. Thus, it is impossible to know how taking courses exposing one to feminist thought may influence responses. The sample was also relatively young

in age, with 85% below the age of 25. It would be interesting to examine responses of older women, who may have been more exposed to feminist thought, who have likely been employed outside the home, and who have presumably experienced overt oppression. The four measures attempting to delineate feminist frameworks are in their infancy. While several showed promise for future research, all must have their psychometric properties evaluated more rigorously, and several must be revised and piloted again. These instruments in particular would benefit from employment in women's studies courses, where subjects would be more familiar with feminism in general, and may have had some exposure to disparate thinking within the movement.

This exploration into extant measures of feminism and newly developed measures of feminist frameworks thus provided both confirmation of longstanding hypotheses and intriguing results that clearly call for further investigation. It is heartening to strengthen the viability of extant measures in their attempt to distinguish general attitudes toward women and their position in society. It is also encouraging to provide some evidence of that which feminists have long known - they are a diverse group of individuals that may often be inappropriately and simplistically subsumed under one term. Further exploration will help to reliably and validly differentiate feminists, which in turn may lead to more cooperative and effective

enterprises. Additional research may also identify the extent to which scores on feminist frameworks represent the behavioral implementation of feminist principles.

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Appendix A

Directions and Definitions

Please think carefully about the following statements, giving careful consideration to your thoughts, opinions, and beliefs. Choose the response that most closely matches your feelings and attitudes. Please answer all items. There are no right or wrong answers, simply select the option that most nearly corresponds to your overall beliefs.

Respond to the statements in the order given, and do not return and change your answer on previous items. Some of the items may look like others you have already responded to; do not worry about answering similar items in the exactly the same way. Treat each item separately, as if you are responding to it for the first time.

Be sure to read the following definitions before you begin work. If you come across these words later and have forgotten what they mean, you may return to the definitions to make sure you understand the statement.

Remember, it is important to answer all items, and to choose the response that most closely matches your feelings and attitudes.

DEFINITIONS

Capitalism - an economic system in which there is private ownership of resources and property, investments by private individuals, and where prices are determined by competition.

Class - a group sharing the same economic or social status.

Discrimination - unfair or prejudiced treatment of something or someone without a reasonable basis to do so.

Domination - the ability to rule or control others because of power.

Exploitation - to make use of something meanly or unfairly for one's own advantage.

Gender - the behavioral, cultural, or psychological traits typically associated with one sex.

Hierarchical - the classification or arrangement of a group of people into ranks or orders, with each rank or order superior to the one below it.

Industrialize - to make manufacturing activity dominant in a society.

Liberate - to free; to free from traditional social attitudes or roles.

Modernize - to bring up-to-date.

Oppression - unfair and excessive use of authority or power.

Patriarchy - a type of social organization marked by the superiority of the father in the family, and the dependence of women and children. Also, control by men of an unequal and extremely large amount of power.

Sexism - prejudice or discrimination based on the sex of a person.

Socialism - an economic system in which there is no private ownership of property, and where materials and the ability to produce goods are owned by the government.

Subordination - treating someone as if they are of less value or less important.

Appendix B

FEM Scale

	1	2	3	4	5
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	No Opinion	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. Women have the right to compete with men in every sphere of activity.				1 2 3 4 5	
2. As head of the household, the father should have final authority over his children.				1 2 3 4 5	
3. The unmarried mother is morally a greater failure than the unmarried father.				1 2 3 4 5	
4. A woman who refuses to give up her job to move with her husband would be to blame if the marriage broke up.				1 2 3 4 5	
5. A woman who refuses to bear children has failed in her duty to her husband.				1 2 3 4 5	
6. Women should not be permitted to hold political offices that involve great responsibility.				1 2 3 4 5	
7. A woman should be expected to change her name when she marries.				1 2 3 4 5	
8. Whether or not they realize it, most women are exploited by men.				1 2 3 4 5	
9. Women who join the Women's Movement are typically frustrated and unattractive people who feel they lose out by the current rules of society.				1 2 3 4 5	

	1	2	3	4	5	
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	No Opinion	Agree	Strongly Agree	
10. A working woman who sends her six month old baby to a daycare center is a bad mother.				1 2	3 4	5
11. A woman to be truly womanly should gracefully accept chivalrous attentions from men.				1 2	3 4	5
12. It is absurd to regard obedience as a wifely virtue.				1 2	3 4	5
13. The "clinging vine" wife is justified provided she clings sweetly enough to please her husband.				1 2	3 4	5
14. Realistically speaking, most progress so far has been made by men and we can expect it to continue that way.				1 2	3 4	5
15. One should never trust a woman's account of another woman.				1 2	3 4	5
16. It is desirable that women be appointed to police forces with the same duties as men.				1 2	3 4	5
17. Women are basically more unpredictable than men.				1 2	3 4	5
18. It is all right for women to work but men will always be the basic breadwinners.				1 2	3 4	5
19. A woman should not expect to go to the same places or have the same freedom of action as a man.				1 2	3 4	5
20. Profanity sounds worse generally coming from a woman.				1 2	3 4	5

Appendix C

Attitudes Toward Women Scale

	1	2	3	4
	Strongly Disagree	Mildly Disagree	Mildly Agree	Strongly Agree
1. Swearing and obscenity are more repulsive in the speech of a woman than a man.			1	2 3 4
2. Under modern economic conditions with women being active outside the home, men should share in household tasks such as washing dishes and doing the laundry.			1	2 3 4
3. It is insulting to women to have the "obey" clause remain in the marriage service.			1	2 3 4
4. A woman should be as free as a man to propose marriage.			1	2 3 4
5. Women should worry less about their rights and more about becoming good wives and mothers.			1	2 3 4
6. Women should assume their rightful place in business and all the professions along with men.			1	2 3 4
7. A woman should not expect to go to exactly the same places or to have quite the same freedom of action as a man.			1	2 3 4
8. It is ridiculous for a woman to run a locomotive and for a man to darn socks.			1	2 3 4
9. The intellectual leadership of a community should be largely in the hands of men.			1	2 3 4

	1	2	3	4
	Strongly Disagree	Mildly Disagree	Mildly Agree	Strongly Agree
10. Women should be given equal opportunity with men for apprenticeship in the various trades.			1	2 3 4
11. Women earning as much as their dates should bear equally the expense when they go out together.			1	2 3 4
12. Sons in a family should be given more encouragement to go to college than daughters.			1	2 3 4
13. In general, the father should have greater authority than the mother in the bringing up of children.			1	2 3 4
14. Economic and social freedom is worth far more to women than acceptance of the ideal of femininity which has been set up by men.			1	2 3 4
15. There are many jobs in which men should be given preference over women in being hired or promoted.			1	2 3 4

Appendix D

Feminism Scale

	1	2	3	4
	Strongly Disagree	Mildly Disagree	Mildly Agree	Strongly Agree
1. Women should feel free to compete with men in every sphere of economic activity.			1	2 3 4
2. Management of property and income, acquired by either husband or wife, should rest with both husband and wife.			1	2 3 4
3. It is better to have a man as a boss or supervisor than a woman.			1	2 3 4
4. A woman could be just as competent as a man in a high political office.			1	2 3 4
5. A woman should take her husband's last name at marriage.			1	2 3 4
6. If a woman with an infant continues to work outside the home, she is neglecting her maternal duty.			1	2 3 4
7. Sex is no indication of fitness or lack of fitness to enter any type of occupation.			1	2 3 4
8. Women should not compete in football or baseball, even against other women.			1	2 3 4
9. The intellectual leadership of a community should mostly be in the hands of men.			1	2 3 4

	1	2	3	4
	Strongly Disagree	Mildly Disagree	Mildly Agree	Strongly Agree
10. Both husband and wife should be equally responsible for the care of the young children.			1	2 3 4
11. Society should be prepared to provide day care centers so any woman who wants to hold a job can do so.			1	2 3 4
12. It is only fair for a school which offers professional training to limit the number of female students in favor of males.			1	2 3 4
13. Men should usually help a woman with her coat and open the door for her.			1	2 3 4
14. Men should have an equal chance for custody of children in a divorce.			1	2 3 4
15. Women workers have abilities equal to those of men workers for most jobs.			1	2 3 4
16. Objections which one might have to the use of obscene language should bear no relation to the sex of the speaker.			1	2 3 4
17. Women would be happier in the long run if they could adjust to their role as housewives.			1	2 3 4
18. Women can control their emotions enough to be successful in any occupation.			1	2 3 4

	1	2	3	4
	Strongly Disagree	Mildly Disagree	Mildly Agree	Strongly Agree
19. It should usually be the duty of the husband to support his wife and family.	1	2	3	4
20. Police duty is a job that should usually be done by men.	1	2	3	4
21. The husband should usually initiate sexual relations with his wife.	1	2	3	4
22. A woman should have the same freedom and the same restrictions as a man.	1	2	3	4
23. Women should feel free to enter occupations requiring aggressiveness rather than remaining in jobs calling for compliance.	1	2	3	4
24. Women should accept the intellectual limitations of their sex.	1	2	3	4
25. A woman should almost always let her date pay for whatever they do together.	1	2	3	4
26. For her own safety, parents should keep a daughter under closer supervision than a son.	1	2	3	4
27. It is natural if a woman's career is as important to her as her husband and children.	1	2	3	4
28. Women should ask men out for dates if they feel like it.	1	2	3	4

Appendix E

Attitudes Toward Feminism and the Women's Movement Scale

	1	2	3	4	5
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	No Opinion	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. The leaders of the women's movement may be extreme, but they have the right idea.				1 2 3 4 5	
2. There are better ways for women to fight for equality than through the women's movement.				1 2 3 4 5	
3. Feminists are too visionary for a practical world.				1 2 3 4 5	
4. More people would favor the women's movement if they knew more about it.				1 2 3 4 5	
5. The women's movement has positively influenced relationships between men and women.				1 2 3 4 5	
6. The women's movement is too radical and extreme in its views.				1 2 3 4 5	
7. Feminist principles should be adopted everywhere.				1 2 3 4 5	
8. I am overjoyed that women's liberation is finally happening in this country.				1 2 3 4 5	
9. The women's movement has made important gains in equal rights and political power for women.				1 2 3 4 5	
10. Feminists are a menace to this nation and the world.				1 2 3 4 5	

Appendix F

Liberal Feminist Framework

	1	2	3	4	5
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	No Opinion	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. Equal civil rights and equal educational opportunities are all that are needed to correct inequalities between women and men.				1 2	3 4 5
2. It is more effective to work within the system to address inequalities between men and women than it is to try and create an entirely new system.				1 2	3 4 5
3. Women are discriminated against mainly because they are judged as women first and human beings second.				1 2	3 4 5
4. When discrimination against women has been removed, women will be fully liberated.				1 2	3 4 5
5. Government has the right to regulate public areas of human life, but no right to intrude in private, personal affairs.				1 2	3 4 5
6. Since women legally have equal rights in our society at this time, discrimination or inequalities that still exist cannot be helped. No society is perfect.				1 2	3 4 5
7. Change in our society that is gradual and builds on the past is better than explosive, sudden change.				1 2	3 4 5

	1	2	3	4	5
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	No Opinion	Agree	Strongly Agree
8. In a capitalistic society such as ours, it is logical for women to enter the work force so that we have the best pool of goal-oriented, intelligent and talented individuals.				1 2	3 4 5
9. Industrialization and modernization have given women the opportunity to work outside the home without destroying the family.				1 2	3 4 5
10. Once women have equal opportunity for paid jobs, any woman who chooses to be a housewife is doing so out of free choice.				1 2	3 4 5
11. The most important part in ending discrimination against women is equality of opportunity.				1 2	3 4 5
12. Oppression is the result of legal and social restrictions which discriminate against women.				1 2	3 4 5
13. Oppression of women is the result of unequal civil rights and unequal educational and occupational opportunities.				1 2	3 4 5
14. The key to women's liberation lies in the removal of sexism and discrimination.				1 2	3 4 5
15. In order to end discrimination against women, attention should be focused on removing obstacles to women's equal participation in community and public areas of life.				1 2	3 4 5

	1	2	3	4	5
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	No Opinion	Agree	Strongly Agree
16. Personal fulfillment is most likely achieved when a person is free from very defined sex roles and stereotypes.				1 2 3 4 5	
17. Women's rights are most accurately thought of in terms of welfare needs, widespread education, and health services.				1 2 3 4 5	
18. It is more important to improve the status of women within the systems of our society (for example, within educational and occupational systems) than it is to try and change the systems.				1 2 3 4 5	
19. Men are judged individually, on their own merits. Women are judged according to sexual stereotypes.				1 2 3 4 5	
20. The end of discrimination should and will occur with legal changes and the education of people in society.				1 2 3 4 5	
21. There is a distinct difference between sex, which has to do with the biological roots of being female or male, and gender, which has to do with social norms and expectations about appropriate behavior for women and men.				1 2 3 4 5	

	1	2	3	4	5	
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	No Opinion	Agree	Strongly Agree	
22. There should be a clear separation between public and private areas of life. Thus, women should have the right to choose on such issues as abortion, pornography, and prostitution, because they involve private areas of life.				1	2	3 4 5
23. While clear separation between public and private areas of life is important, one must be careful where to draw the line, so that private issues such as domestic violence are subject to public laws.				1	2	3 4 5
24. While it is common to believe in equal opportunity, exactly what counts as equal opportunity is more difficult to decide.				1	2	3 4 5
25. Women's subordination is a consequence of gender and social norms rather than biological sex.				1	2	3 4 5

Appendix G

Marxist Feminist Framework

	1	2	3	4	5
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	No Opinion	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. What people are like is a result of the type of society they live in. Thus, they can change society and change their personality at the same time.				1 2	3 4 5
2. Oppression of women is a symptom of the difference between economic classes.				1 2	3 4 5
3. In a socialist system, it would not be men who predominantly own the organizations that keep society running, thus, women would not be subordinate.				1 2	3 4 5
4. Dominance does not have to be a basic feature of the economic foundation of society.				1 2	3 4 5
5. Women have more in common with low-paid workers, whether they are men or women, than they do with women in general. This group of low-paid workers should work together to end oppression in our society.				1 2	3 4 5
6. Legal equality will not liberate women, but will provide a first step in showing the differences in power and wealth that exist in a capitalistic society such as ours.				1 2	3 4 5

	1	2	3	4	5	
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	No Opinion	Agree	Strongly Agree	
7. Fair, equal, and mutually satisfying sexual relationships will not happen until the differences in power and wealth between men and women are eliminated.				1	2	3 4 5
8. The women's movement has struggles of class within it, as the reality of different economic classes in our society translates into other areas.				1	2	3 4 5
9. The economic dominance of men in society is similar to the dominance of men in the home and family.				1	2	3 4 5
10. It is impossible for people to have equal opportunity when they live in a society with different economic classes.				1	2	3 4 5
11. Human nature is not biologically determined, but rather is the result of the type of society one lives in.				1	2	3 4 5
12. Theories about women and economic class also need to be applied to the family in order to fully understand women's oppression.				1	2	3 4 5
13. There are important connections between capitalism and patriarchy that link both to the oppression of women.				1	2	3 4 5
14. Class differences are not important in understanding the oppression of women.				1	2	3 4 5

	1	2	3	4	5	
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	No Opinion	Agree	Strongly Agree	
15. Class oppression should be addressed, rather than the oppression of women.				1	2	3 4 5
16. Women cannot be truly equal to men in a society where class exists.				1	2	3 4 5
17. Not taking into account class differences in a society delays the progress that women can make.				1	2	3 4 5
18. "Equal opportunity" is a myth within a class society.				1	2	3 4 5
19. In a capitalist society, women are financially dependent on men, and therefore subordinate.				1	2	3 4 5
20. In a capitalist society, most women will never be the economic and social equals of men.				1	2	3 4 5
21. Women's economic dependence on men cannot be eliminated in a capitalist society.				1	2	3 4 5
22. Human natures are shaped by both the type of society they live in and by their specific place within that society.				1	2	3 4 5
23. Women's subordination helps maintain a capitalist society, for example, by providing a pool of low-paid labor.				1	2	3 4 5
24. Marriage and monogamy are similar in some ways to owning private property.				1	2	3 4 5

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	No Opinion	Agree	Strongly Agree

25. Human nature is the result of certain systems of social organization, not the cause of them.

1 2 3 4 5

Appendix H

Radical Feminist Framework

	1	2	3	4	5
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	No Opinion	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. Patriarchy is the defining characteristic of American society.				1 2	3 4 5
2. Women's oppression has more to do with being considered an inferior gender than a member of a low-paid economic class.				1 2	3 4 5
3. Gender differences shape every aspect of women's lives.				1 2	3 4 5
4. Domination of women is as much psychological as economical.				1 2	3 4 5
5. All forms of oppression are related to, and extensions of, male dominance.				1 2	3 4 5
6. Women's oppression is the root of all other forms of oppression.				1 2	3 4 5
7. "Wildness" is a quality both within and around women which should be nurtured.				1 2	3 4 5
8. The personal is political, that is, what happens in women's personal lives is evidence of their oppression in society.				1 2	3 4 5
9. It is important to create alternatives to traditional institutions, such as women-run businesses and new forms of religion.				1 2	3 4 5

	1	2	3	4	5
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	No Opinion	Agree	Strongly Agree
10. Women's oppression is the deepest, and therefore the hardest to put an end to.				1	2 3 4 5
11. Women's subordination when it comes to work is only a symptom of deeper problems, which have their foundations in men's control of women's sexual and reproductive abilities.				1	2 3 4 5
12. Heterosexual marriage oppresses women, as it is located in the environment of a society that is male-dominated.				1	2 3 4 5
13. The foundations for male dominance lie in men's control of women's sexuality.				1	2 3 4 5
14. It is important to liberate oneself before trying to liberate society.				1	2 3 4 5
15. Changes in the current society would only achieve "surface equality," therefore, an entirely new social system is needed.				1	2 3 4 5
16. There is much to be gained by developing an independent, women-only, women's movement.				1	2 3 4 5
17. Men benefit from women's oppression, therefore, a certain amount of separation between women and men is needed, at least for now.				1	2 3 4 5
18. There is a need to question all male-defined systems and values.				1	2 3 4 5

	1	2	3	4	5	
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	No Opinion	Agree	Strongly Agree	
19. Women must take complete control over their bodies and their lives.				1	2	3 4 5
20. Paying attention to and analyzing the psychology of women is crucial to ending oppression.				1	2	3 4 5
21. More concern should be placed on social policies that view male biology as the standard, and female biology as less important, rather than simple biological differences between men and women.				1	2	3 4 5
22. Women's oppression is rooted in social practices through which men control women's bodies, for example, laws regarding abortion, prostitution, and pornography.				1	2	3 4 5
23. Issues such as reproduction and sexuality are not only personal, but also political, as they are organized and controlled by male power.				1	2	3 4 5
24. Women's oppression is <u>not</u> the result of other types of domination.				1	2	3 4 5
25. There are no real differences between sex and gender; they are inseparable and both must be taken into account to understand women's oppression.				1	2	3 4 5

Appendix I

Socialist Feminist Framework

	1	2	3	4	5
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	No Opinion	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. In order to eliminate the oppression of women, differences in both class and gender should be removed.				1 2	3 4 5
2. There is a need for a women's liberation movement that is independent and composed of women only.				1 2	3 4 5
3. There is no basic oppression of women, rather, every issue belongs to women. It is not possible nor desirable to separate "woman questions" from political questions.				1 2	3 4 5
4. The relationships between work outside the home and work inside the home cannot be separated; liberation requires a re-organizing and re-thinking of work in both areas.				1 2	3 4 5
5. It is more appropriate to discuss equal pay for similar work, rather than equal pay for equal work.				1 2	3 4 5
6. Women's subordination in society is inseparable from their inferior position in private areas (the family). True liberation requires basic changes within the family.				1 2	3 4 5
7. Women's sexual liberation can only occur when their sexuality is no longer pushed by money, profit and maintaining male supremacy.				1 2	3 4 5

	1	2	3	4	5
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	No Opinion	Agree	Strongly Agree
8. Women of all classes have more in common, with stronger unity and power, than women and men in the same class.				1 2	3 4 5
9. There are certain features of women's oppression that occur in all classes.				1 2	3 4 5
10. Patriarchy and capitalism are inter-related and mutually reinforcing systems, which both contribute to the oppression of women.				1 2	3 4 5
11. Ending all forms of exploitation and creating a society in which maleness and femaleness are socially unimportant is a desirable goal.				1 2	3 4 5
12. The current arrangement of sexuality, marriage and the family are basic to women's oppression.				1 2	3 4 5
13. Individual solutions to working on oppression are limited by society. Personal lifestyle changes alone will not end sexism.				1 2	3 4 5
14. Because patriarchy benefits men's interests, they are less likely to want or to be able to resist it.				1 2	3 4 5
15. There are other types of oppression that are equally important to women's oppression, where men and women can agree and cooperate.				1 2	3 4 5

	1	2	3	4	5
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	No Opinion	Agree	Strongly Agree
16. Economic oppression and sexist oppression are equally important in understanding the position of women.				1 2	3 4 5
17. Both gender and class are important in analyzing types of economic activity.				1 2	3 4 5
18. Women who are restricted to the lowest paying and least secure jobs can gain economic independence only in an economy that has been fully changed.				1 2	3 4 5
19. Strategies for political action that challenge both male dominance and capitalism are desirable.				1 2	3 4 5
20. A society that is truly free and equal would have to address both the problems of the female half of the working class, and the more general problems of a capitalist economy.				1 2	3 4 5
21. A full understanding of women's subordination must be analyzed and understood in terms of satisfying: physiological needs (for example food and clothing), sexuality, children, and emotional support.				1 2	3 4 5
22. Patriarchy can be defined in terms of male control over women's labor, both within and outside the home.				1 2	3 4 5

	1	2	3	4	5
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	No Opinion	Agree	Strongly Agree
23. It is desirable to struggle for equality within a new system that is not dependent on male domination or any exploitation of one group by another.				1 2	3 4 5
24. Women must strive to build not only a strong women's movement, but must also work alongside other oppressed groups.				1 2	3 4 5
25. Both American culture and its economic system give some people power over other people's lives.				1 2	3 4 5

Appendix J

Definitions of Feminism and Brief Summaries of Feminist Frameworks

Please indicate the extent of your agreement or disagreement with the following statements.

I believe in the political, economic, and social equality of the sexes.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree

I believe that women deserve equal rights based on a belief in the equality of the sexes. I am aware of and seek to end women's oppression. There is something wrong with society's treatment of women; it is important to analyze the reasons for and dimensions of oppression, and to work to achieve women's liberation.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree

Please pick the ONE following statement that MOST CLOSELY reflects your philosophy about women and their position in society.

1. Equal rights and equal opportunity are the basis for equality of women. There should be a focus on eliminating economic and legal obstacles that block women's equality; this is the key to liberation. There is a difference between the personal and public areas of women's lives, and the removal of public barriers will lead to women's equality.

2. The origin of women's oppression is in the capitalist system of society. Women's oppression is but a symptom of a more basic oppression. Women are not dominated by men, but by capitalism, as women provide such necessities as a pool of low-paid labor. Thus, if capitalism ended, women's oppression would also end.

3. The oppression of women is the original and most basic oppression; it has functioned throughout time, across culture, and across class. Women's oppression is primary to all other forms of domination. The events in women's private lives are evidence of oppression in society, and cannot be separated. The social structure responsible for oppression is patriarchy, the system by which men of all different classes, races, and cultures together exert domination over women.

4. Human nature is determined by the social environment in which people live. While equal opportunity is impossible in a class society, women's oppression cannot be viewed solely as a result of living in a class society. It is also necessary to take into account women's oppression as a result of patriarchy. It is impossible to separate either the hierarchical nature of class or the differences of gender within a patriarchal system. Change must come from the end of both patriarchy and capitalism.